

SARVODAYA



With which "The KHADI WORLD" is incorporated



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Photo - Kanu Gandhi — Gandhi Chitrakala, Rajkot

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ECONOMIC EQUALITY

GANDHIJI

Economic equality is the master key to non-violent independence. Working for economic equality means abolishing the eternal conflict between capital and labour. It means the levelling down of the few rich in whose hands is concentrated the bulk of the nation's wealth on the one hand, and the levelling up of the semi-starved naked millions on the other. A non-violent system of government is clearly an impossibility, so long as the wide gulf between the rich and the hungry millions persists. The contrast between the palaces of New Delhi and the miserable hovels of the poor labouring class nearby cannot last one day in a free India in which the poor will enjoy the same power as the richest in the land. A violent and bloody revolution is a certainty one day unless there is a voluntary abdication of riches and the power that riches give and sharing them for the common good.

— *From 'Sarvodaya — Its Principles and Programme.'*

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EQUAL DISTRIBUTION

MAHATMA GANDHI

The real implication of equal distribution is that each man shall have the wherewithal to supply all his natural needs and no more. For example, if one man has a weak digestion and requires only a quarter of a pound of flour for his bread and another needs a pound, both should be in a position to satisfy their wants. To bring this ideal into being the entire social order has got to be reconstructed. A society based on non-violence cannot nurture any other ideal. We may not perhaps be able to realize the goal, but we must bear it in mind and work unceasingly to near it. To the same extent as we progress towards our goal we shall find contentment and happiness, and to that extent too shall we have contributed towards the bringing into being of a non-violent society.

It is perfectly possible for an individual to adopt this way of life without having to wait for others to do so. And if an individual can observe a certain rule of conduct, it follows that a group of individuals can do likewise. It is necessary for me to emphasize the fact that no one need wait for any one else in order to adopt a right course. Men generally hesitate to make a beginning if they feel that the objective cannot be had in its entirety. Such an attitude of mind is in reality a bar to progress.

Now let us consider how equal distribution can be brought about through non-violence. The first step towards it is for him

who has made this ideal part of his being to bring about the necessary changes in his personal life. He would reduce his wants to a minimum, bearing in mind the poverty of India. His earnings would be free of dishonesty. The desire for speculation would be renounced. His habitation would be in keeping with the new mode of life. There would be self-restraint exercised in every sphere of life. When he has done all that is possible in his own life, then only will he be in a position to preach this ideal among his associates and neighbours.

Indeed at the root of this doctrine of equal distribution must lie that of the trusteeship of the wealthy for the superfluous wealth possessed by them. For according to the doctrine they may not possess a rupee more than their neighbours. How is this to be brought about? Non-violently? Or should the wealthy be dispossessed of their possessions? To do this we would naturally have to resort to violence. This violent action cannot benefit society. Society will be the poorer, for it will lose the gifts of a man who knows how to accumulate wealth. Therefore the non-violent way is evidently superior. The rich man will be left in possession of his wealth, of which he will use what he reasonably requires for his personal needs and will act as a trustee for the remainder to be used for society. In this argument honesty on the part of the trustee is assumed.

As soon as a man looks upon himself as a servant of society, earns for its sake, spends for its benefit, then purity enters into his earnings and there is *ahimsa* in his venture. Moreover if men's minds turn towards this way of life, there will come about a peaceful revolution in society, and that without any bitterness.

It may be asked whether history at any time records such a change in human nature. Such changes have certainly taken place in individuals. One may not perhaps be able to point to them in a whole society. But this only means that up till now there has never been an experiment on a large scale on non-violence. Somehow or other the wrong belief has taken possession of us that *ahimsa* is pre-eminently a weapon for individuals and its use should, therefore, be limited to that sphere. In fact this is not the case. *Ahimsa* is definitely an attribute of society. To convince people of this truth is at once my effort and my experiment. In this age of wonders no one will say that a thing or idea is worthless because it is new. To say it is impossible because it is difficult, is again not in consonance with the spirit of the age. Things undreamt of are daily being seen, the impossible is ever becoming possible. We are constantly being astonished these days at the amazing discoveries in the field of violence. But I maintain that far more undreamt of and seemingly impossible discoveries will be made in the field of non-violence. The history of religion is full of such examples. To try to root out religion itself from society is a wild-goose chase. And were such an attempt to succeed, it would mean the

destruction of society. Superstition, evil customs and other imperfections creep in from age to age and mar religion for the time being. They come and go. But religion itself remains, because the existence of the world in a broad sense depends on religion. The ultimate definition of religion may be said to be obedience to the law of God. God and His laws are synonymous terms. Therefore God signifies an unchanging and living law. No one has ever really found Him. But avatars and prophets have by means of their *tapasya*, given to mankind a faint glimpse of the eternal law.

If, however, in spite of the utmost efforts the rich do not become guardians of the poor in the true sense of the term and the latter are more and more crushed and die of hunger, what is to be done? In trying to find the solution to this riddle I have lighted on non-violent non-co-operation and civil disobedience as the right and infallible means. The rich cannot accumulate wealth without the co-operation of the poor in society. Man has been conversant with violence from the beginning, for he has inherited this strength from the animal in his nature. It was only when he rose from the state of a quadruped (animal) to that of a biped (man) that the knowledge of the strength of *ahimsa* entered into his soul. This knowledge has grown within him slowly but surely. If this knowledge were to penetrate to and spread amongst the poor they would become strong and would learn how to free themselves by means of non-violence from the crushing inequalities which have brought them to the verge of starvation.

"Harijan," 25-8-'40

SCIENCE FOR ALL

Not so many perhaps realise that the whole living world is equally dependent upon the mysterious chemical activity of the green plant. All animals including man directly or indirectly draw their food supply from green plants. It is the green plant alone which can utilize the energy of the sunlight so as to build up food-stuffs, out of the simple in-organic substances that are everywhere present in water, soil, or atmosphere.

— J. T. HOGG in 'Science for all'

BAPU MY MOTHER

MANU GANDHI

BAPU THE MISER

Once there was a slight delay in heating the drinking water in the morning. I could not light the fire on account of damp weather. So tearing a piece of the border of my sari I dipped it in kerosene. Bapuji observed it from behind. When I was preparing to light it Bapuji said to me, "Will you show me the piece you are going to use for lighting the fire?" I showed it to him. Bapu opened out the folded piece which was long enough to be used as a tape. He said, "Wash this piece and put it in the sun to dry. Is it proper to use for lighting the fire a long piece of cloth which can serve as a tape? Do you know how miserly I am? Where is the harm if we were to get the hot water a little late? What a lot of kerosene was wasted in soaking this long piece, and would it not have been burnt had I not seen it?"

I said, "Bapu, now why should we be so miserly?" He replied jokingly, "You are a daughter of a generous father. But I have no father who will give things to me." Then, suddenly becoming serious he said, "There is always some meaning even in my jokes, which, if you can understand, I shall be satisfied." At last the piece was washed and dried and I was made to use it as a tape. I was taught to light the fire with the straw that was lying nearby. Bapuji always felt great joy in teaching such small things even in the midst of his multifarious and momentous activities in the service of the nation. ★

MEANING OF SACRIFICE

"The Lord says that he who eats without performing sacrifice, eats stolen food. This is a statement of great import. To take stolen food is like taking raw mercury... i.e., both are indigestible. He is a thief who spends even a moment without sacri-

fice. We all must perform this incessant sacrifice. For him who has, by good fortune his heart in the right place, sacrifice is an easy task. He requires neither wealth, nor intelligence, nor education. Service rendered to anyone is a sacrifice. Only those are not thieves, who have completely dedicated themselves to service; and hence those who render service to a small extent are free from theft to that extent. Thus we all are thieves in some measure at least. Only when we give up all selfishness is our sacrifice complete. To wipe out the consciousness of 'I' and 'mine' is what is really meant by giving up selfishness. 'This is my brother or sister but that one is a stranger'— such sentiments should be eradicated from one's heart. He only can do this who can dedicate every little thing to the Lord, who can render service knowing himself to be an instrument of the Lord. Such people are always happy and calm. To them joy and sorrow are the same. They utilize their all, body, mind and soul in the service of others. For most of us such sacrifice is only an ideal. If we have the desire to serve the whole world what is the type of work which could be suggested to a number of people for the benefit of many? It is spinning. Spinning can be practised by numerous people as service of others and so it can be considered as service of humanity. Innumerable poor people can be maintained through it. Even the blind can spin and Ramanama can be repeated with the drawing out of each length of yarn.

"This is the spirit in which I want to teach you the *Gita* not merely grammatically. This is merely an instance to explain to you the meaning of sacrifice. Spinning is sacrifice and sacrifice is spinning." ★

From "Bapu My Mother" — The Tamil Translation of this has run its 2nd edition — under Sarvodaya Prachuralayam — Price As. 12

VINOBAJI'S PRAYER SPEECHES

THE NEXT STEP TO BHOODAN

Greed and plunder rule supreme now in society. Hoarding is not considered either as crime or a sin while theft alone is an offence under law. The one who hoards wealth, gives temptation for theft, and thereby abets the crime. Yet he is not treated as an offender. In an Upanishad story one Raja says, "There is neither a thief nor a hoarder in my land." Our *Gita* says that the hoarder is also a thief. But our society would say that *Gita* is the book for Sanyasins. It punishes and sends to jail only the thief but lets free his father, the hoarder, the abetter who is even respected and honoured. What kind of law and justice is this?

..... While making offerings to yagna we say "This is for Indra, this is not mine or for me." This outlook of life is the need of the day. "Whatever we produce in the country, whether it be in field, or in factory, we have to offer saying, "This is not mine, this is for society and this is for the nation." Every little thing we possess we have to

offer thus to society and take back only that much which is necessary."

... Thus when every one in our midst is ready to dedicate his all to society, then our Government will neither require the mint at Nasik nor the help from America. Every home in India will be a bank and it will pay everything the moment the demand is made. Then our people will be happy and free from all sufferings.

..... But today neither the people nor our society are prepared for it. So I have asked for only 1/6 share of the land. A year and a half back I said that I have taken the role of Vamana. My first step was Bhoodan, my second step is Sampath-dan (wealth-gift) and the third and final step, the most sublime one, will be the call to the people to renounce and surrender everything to society for the service of the poor. "Make yourself poor for the service of the poor." Then alone India becomes an ideal to the whole world to copy. *

Tikari - Bihar 1-11-'52

ON BUDDHA

"I am extremely happy to be in this sacred city where Lord Buddha attained the state of Nirvana. I am merely following the footsteps of Lord Buddha who taught us that real happiness lies in sharing others' grievances and caring for the poor and down-trodden. He was an incarnation of compassion. He lived and died as a Hindu but it is his disciples who formed their own sect after his departure. I have studied Dhammapada and I have not come across a single verse which would not have been acceptable to me as a Hindu. We, Hindus also regard him as an *Avatar* like Rama and Krishna. Indian mind is influenced by *Gita* and *Bhagawat* on the one hand and Buddha and Mahavir on the other. The only difference between the outlook of Hindus and Buddhists is that Buddhists worship

Lord Buddha as God while Hindus, regarding him as an *Avatar*, do not worship him simply because he belongs to our own age. Buddhists had spread the best of the Indian culture outside, in the then known world. So their contribution is very valuable. Bodhgaya is a place doubly sacred. It is Lord Buddha's *Tapasyabhoomi* and a place of international importance where pilgrims come from all foreign countries. So it is the duty of the residents of Bodhgaya to keep this place spotlessly clean and to shower love and hospitality on the foreign pilgrims so that they may carry the message of India with them. If we fail in this, we will be doing dishonour to our country. We must study if we can, the religious texts of Buddhism as they are our own texts." *

Bhoodan Yagna: Answer to Some Questions

SHANKARRAO DEO

Several questions have been asked about Bhoodan Yagna, particularly regarding the distribution and proper utilisation of the donated land. They are answered by the following statement issued by Sri Deo on 10th November during his Bhoodan Yatra at Tirupur.

It is fantastic even to imagine that evacuees from north India and people from other parts would be brought down to settle on lands donated, for instance in Tamil Nad, as some seem to entertain a suspicion. It is the legitimate duty of the Government to look after the evacuees and the Central Government is discharging its duties to the evacuees very creditably. Of course, with all our sympathy for the evacuee sisters and brothers who have suffered so much, we support the Government in all its measures to help them. But this need not be mixed up with the Bhoodan Yagna, as it is not started for this purpose. Unfortunately every State has a large number of poor people to look after. Therefore let all such friends who want to offer land, but yet are deterred by this consideration from giving, be assured that the first claim on land will be of the poor landless living in the same village. One must remember that the Bhoodan Yagna is an all-India movement and therefore the poor in every province will be benefited by the gift of their own province.

2. As regards the distribution of lands to the deserving people in an impartial way we can assure that only men who are just and impartial will be entrusted with the task of distribution. I think that this will be most satisfactorily accomplished if the donors themselves will come forward to help in this work in an impartial and disinterested way.

3. Persons who will be asked to do the distribution work will not come from outside; they will be selected from the same province and the districts and they will be fully

familiar with local conditions. There is no question of any superior committee giving directions to these persons. The rules of distribution are very few and they are fundamental to the movement and are capable of universal application. These will be clear to those who peruse the instructions for distribution issued by the Uttar Pradesh Bhoodan Samithi. In Uttar Pradesh more than three lakhs of acres have to be distributed and it may be taken that these instructions have the approval of Shri Vinobaji.

4. The question of legislation will inevitably arise of course, if the rich and also the poor, especially the former do not part with their property voluntarily for the community. Yet in any case the legislation will have to come. The only question is at what stage. Bhoodan Yagna even after achieving full success cannot avoid legislation. But if there is a magnanimous response from the Haves, then legislation will be the crowning act for which full credit will go to the donors of land for creating the sanction of abundant goodwill in the country by cementing the different parts of the community towards a new strength and unity. Therefore let the rich come forward and declare out of their volition that they are ready to surrender a big portion of their wealth to the community for economic equality. Bhoodan Yagna is really a unique non-violent aid for meeting the challenge of democracy on behalf of the Havenots. If, instead of responding to this challenge with the generous gesture, the rich throw it back to the Havenots out of sheer narrow-mindedness the future of democracy will be certainly dark.

5. It is true that the ultimate aim of Bhoodan Yagna is to make the community the sole owner of that kind of property which enables one to exploit another. But in democracy the process is necessarily to be gradual. The operating speed of this process will naturally depend upon the good-will of those who wield this kind of property. The Bhoodan Yagna makes a direct appeal to the inherent goodness in every man. If those who have land consider calmly in the interest of the community as a whole they will be convinced that it is neither in their interests nor in the interest of the community to withhold gradual surrender of their lands because they will ultimately be asked to surrender all. This would be nothing but a challenge to the forces of violence to do their worst. The rich should realise that democracy cannot survive such violent upheavals. And therefore, the rich have to come forward voluntarily to remove the present social and economic inequalities as speedily as possible. Democracy in a sense means readjustment to the new conditions. The people have to be prepared to give up and change their old habits i. e., their notion of standard of living. The community is just like a family in which the total income is shared equally by all its members. And its standard of life is determined by the aggregate income. This law of family life must be extended in its application to even the society as a whole, as far as possible. Therefore, the difference between the maximum and the minimum standard of life should be very little.

6. Some entertain the fear that the new recipients of land may also in course of time incur heavy debts and lose their land even as the older generation of the peasants have lost their land as a result of their debts etc. This, I am sorry, is a static way of thinking. If the peasants are so bad, who is responsible for it? Should not the people at the top share a part of that responsibility? There is a misunderstanding about the law of Karma. It is the old Hindu trait refusing to share

the collective responsibility of the evil in society. The Hindu generally thinks that each is responsible for his own conditions and that there is nothing like collective responsibility. He considers that it is not his duty to go to the help of those who are suffering because it is attributed to one's own Karma. Yet I may assure these friends that the peasant is not so bad as is considered to be. And if only the upper classes will do their duty, the conditions will be different in the future India. Therefore let us not think of the past but work now only for the future.

7. Some say that the actual tillers have not the means to improve and maintain the lands. But who is responsible for this state of affairs? They have been so much exploited by the landlords and the middlemen for generations together that they have been deprived even of the means of cultivation which they can call their own. Secondly, if the land ultimately belongs to the community, all the implements of production will also go to the community. In the meanwhile let those who give land kindly see that the object of gift is fulfilled. All these excuses and doubts arise because the principle of Bhoo Dan Yagna which is to create a brotherhood among men has not been fully grasped. If this is realised then people offering land will also give all necessary help for cultivating it. It is true that agriculture alone cannot sustain the tiller. That is why the Sevapuri resolution on Bhoo Dan advocates its inseparable counterpart of decentralised industries and calls the people to boycott goods of centralised industries, at least in the matter of food and cloth to begin with. Here again it is the rich who are to set an example for the poor. If they will support the village industries even at some sacrifice, not only those engaged in agriculture will get means to supplement their income, but thousands of people in the villages who have no land will also get employment. The Sarvodaya Plan envisages self-sufficiency in village economics to meet at least the primary needs of villages.

8. It is mentioned by some rich that the peasants are not inclined for hard work and that they will not get full benefit of the land. "Whatever a great man does the same is done by others as well", says the Gita. When will the rich realise at least, out of compassion, that the poor have lost their will to work because for centuries there was no incentive for them to work? So, under Swaraj those who are more enlightened and advanced should help their poor brothers.

9. In India at present more than 60% of the holdings are below five acres. Bhoo Dan Yagna gives at least 5 acres for a family. If the family is large it gets even more. In Hyderabad State they had given at one acre per member of the family. This has in some cases enabled a family to secure even 10 acres. As far as possible, attempt is made to consolidate small pieces of land given by the donors by exchange. Hence the fear that the land will be more fragmented has very little foundation.

10. Some mix up the question of the land belonging to the community and the State owning the land as a whole. There is a vast difference between both. Even today in theory the land belongs to the State, though it really belongs to individuals. The Bhoo Dan Yagna wants that the land should belong to the community in the village, and the responsibility of cultivating the lands will rest with the elected Panchayat. This is decentralised economy and we want the decentralised social and political life also, of course, consistent with the security and welfare of the country as a whole. So, those who compare the objective of the Bhoo Dan Yagna to the Russian pattern as far as the land is concerned, exhibit ignorance of both.

So I would appeal to those who are in a position to give, to donate liberally for Bhoo Dan Yagna and be themselves its *Prohitis* (Priests). If they do so all their doubts will melt even as the mist before the sun.



MESSAGE OF GANDHIJI

— LOUIS FISCHER —

Recently the Foreign Minister of a small Asian country said to me: "Not long ago, while I was reading your "Life of Mahatma Gandhi," I found myself taking vows to improve myself to become a better person."

The most important thing about Mahatma Gandhi is that he lived. His life is an inspiring example. He began as an ordinary person, but he pulled himself up by his own efforts to the high mountain where he dwelt and worked for many decades. Gandhiji believed in the corrigibility of every human being, in the endless capacity of each individual to become better. He tried to see only the good in people. He regarded the good in each person as all of that person, and in this way he filled his visitors with a desire to live up to his estimate of them.

For India therefore and indeed for the entire world, Mahatma Gandhi continues to be a living force. The independence of India without violence was a tribute to Britain's political maturity and one of Gandhiji's greatest achievements, but only one of his achievements. He did not merely free India; he left her a legacy. In one of his earliest writings, in a book entitled *Hind Swaraj* or Indian Independence, he wrote that the purpose of liberating India from colonial rule was not to substitute Indian officials in the place of British officials. He had high ideals for India and for all humanity. He did not want the British ejected by force, because he knew it would generate hate and untruth and bitterness that might last many years. Such is the importance he attached to means. If the means are bad, they poison the end and reduce its value.

Although he strove for Indian nationalism, he regarded himself as an internationalist and in later years stressed this aspect of his thinking with increasing frequency. He had the eye of a Prophet and realized that more wars would widen the gulf between nations and lessen the understanding between them and thus prepare the way for more wars and more hate and ultimately the descent of humanity into barbarism. This is Gandhi's contribution to world peace.

Gandhi still has a decisive message for all the world. As early as 1919 he stated that Bolshevism was the inevitable result of materialism and that the mad chase for material goods to the exclusion of the higher things in life would result in Communism's victory. He did not believe in reported Soviet successes. Gandhi did not agree that the alternative was food or freedom. Without freedom there is no food, no light, no virtue, no truth, no peace. Those who hate cannot want peace. Those whose programme stands for destruction cannot contribute to peace.

Gandhi gave the peasants and working people and intellectuals of India a sense of their own personal importance in society. He not merely enlisted them in his independence movement but increased their individual stature and thereby made them immune to totalitarian doctrine.

"ANTIDOTE TO STALIN"

Recently, in one or two talks with Marshal Tito, the Prime Minister of Yugoslavia, I asked him for his opinion of Joseph Stalin, the Soviet dictator, whom he had known personally. "Stalin has no consideration for human beings," Tito replied. But for Gandhi the human being was everything. For if his stature is diminished, if the individual is squelched and reduced to the stature of a pygmy, dictators will have a free hand. In this sense Gandhi is now the answer and the antidote to Stalin. The most effective weapon against Stalinism is Gandhism. Gandhi was a modern saint. He lived under British imperialism, yet within

that framework, and remembering the many times he and his Indian associates were clapped into jail, he enjoyed a wide margin of freedom to criticise and advocate. A totalitarian regime would have crushed the life out of Gandhi or sent him to a concentration camp. Dictatorships do not nurture saints or saintly qualities or humanistic virtues. Gandhi was a rebel and established revolutionary regimes are intolerant of rebels.

Mahatma Gandhi was no trained economist. He had a clear mind but not a scientific mind. It is interesting nevertheless that many Indians are to-day convinced that Gandhi's economic programme for eliminating the poverty of the Indian people provides a key to the solution of her present economic difficulties. He wanted land for the peasant, cottage industries for farmers during months of unemployment, and self-help by the man at the bottom rather than the imposition of policies from above. Gandhi favoured less government and more co-operative effort by the people on their own behalf.

There are some who contend that revolution achieved by blood and maintained by oppression can mould a better individual. Gandhi said, the individual must become better and then the revolution would come of itself and its fruits would be sublime. Several Indian Socialist leaders, who formerly believed in Marxism and dialectical materialism, have recently been converted to this Gandhian view.

PROBLEM OF POWER

The central problem facing all humanity to-day is the problem of power. The problem is: How can the modern individual remain free, sane, and himself in the face of the mounting power of governments, the increasing power of economic organizations and the power now extractable from the atom and other sources? Most persons stand in awe of these fresh agglomerations of power and feel prepared to resign their prerogatives as individuals. But Mahatma Gandhi had a

Himalayan faith in the individual. If Gandhi's life shows anything, it demonstrates how each individual can by his own will become bigger and better and thus resist the assaults of organized power. In Gandhi therefore humanity could save itself from the danger which now threatens. His life is a model for all.

I lived with Gandhi in India and found him a very happy man, joyous and light hearted, friendly and personal. He seemed to have resolved his inner conflicts and it appears to me that the reason is that in

Gandhi word and deed and creed were one. He was not a split personality. He did what he believed and he said what he believed. This is the real meaning of integrity. It made Gandhi an integrated, mentally healthy individual. This integrity is what Gandhi called truth. In the early part of his career he used to say "God is truth", but in the latter part he went a step further and stated that "Truth is God." By cultivating this kind of truth, Gandhi aspired to the perfection of his soul and its re-unification with the Divine. It is in this sense that Gandhi was a Mahatma, which means Great Soul.

"The Hindu" 2-10-'52



BHOODAN: A Revolutionary Movement

S. M. NEKSATKHAN

Towards the closing decades of the last century a universal belief was taking firm roots in the minds of the people that the world had made a tremendous progress and that there would not be any regress. It was also believed that it was science that made that achievement possible. The idea of progress got a rude shock in 1914 when the modern world tumbled upon the first World War. The events that followed it brought in complete disillusionment. Nevertheless, the belief that science can and will usher in a new world order has not died. Somehow, people still hold on to it, almost superstitiously, for they do it in spite of all the evidence to the contrary. Science promised abundance of everything. Even today fanatics of science are ever ready to come out with all sorts of promises. But instead of abundance we find scarcity. Thanks to science even the universal elements found in abundance in Nature have become scarce! There is a world-wide food shortage today as was never before even in pre-scientific age. In cities and towns, the crowns and glories of science, water, air and light have become scarce. So is land. Now, whether we want to solve the land problem

or any other problem, we will have to counteract this unscientific mentality all along. The underlying causes behind every modern malaise are the set of things and ideas brought about as a result of the lopsided development of science and the abandoning of the moral aspects of life. And if we mean to understand and appreciate the Bhoodan Yagna we must look at it, first and foremost, as a moral movement.

Like the other elements of Nature like water, air and light, land is meant for all the people irrespective of their race or religion or social status. The problem of land is a world-wide problem. There are many remedies proposed for its solution and some have been already tried even on an extensive scale. This problem is akin to the problem of freedom. Freedom everywhere was and is still scarce. People and nations have won their freedom by certain stereotyped means. It was Mahatma Gandhi who showed India a different way and a better way of gaining freedom. It is now Acharya Vinoba Bhave who shows a different way of solving the land problem.

The principle is the same, the principle of non-violence. But its application has to

be in a new field. The launching of the Bhoojan Yagna was indeed a very imaginative and bold and original stroke of genius for a timely extension of non-violence. India's application of non-violence in the field of fight for freedom raised her prestige in the world and has inspired some struggling nations to use the same method. If one and all contribute their due share in this non-violent solution of land problem, it can be speedily and easily solved despite the criticisms of doubting Toms and the forebodings of gloomy prophets. With two bold precedents in the application of non-violence for the solution of two major issues, a way will be opened up for the third and the fourth successful application of it in other major problems facing us which are many. It will also further raise the prestige of India in the world and will inspire other countries to solve their land problem in a non-violent way. Thus the forces of non-violence will be strengthened not only nationally but also internationally.

A REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

It is often said we are living in an age of transition. The old system has broken down and a new system is in the process of formulation. At a time like this a major change is to be made in every aspect and sphere of life. We have to change entirely our ideas and ideals, habits and customs, ways and means of living and life. That is why we have to say that a revolution is needed if we mean to create a new order. Any programme to be worthwhile in such a situation must be revolutionary. Otherwise it won't achieve anything real or substantial.

A test that we may apply to the Bhoojan Yagna Movement is to find out whether it is a revolutionary movement. Doubts may be raised as to whether it is a cent per cent revolutionary movement, but it can be easily seen that it is substantially so. To take one example, science wants to industrialise agriculture while the aim of the movement is to humanise it. Thus it is entirely against the

scientific tenets, trends and techniques. It wants to bring about a fundamental change in many aspects of life and concepts of living to reverse the whole outlook on land. Practically the whole world believes, rather makes us to believe, that land can be appropriated by a few. Of course, the philosophy of rank materialism that is behind this way of thinking is not manifested in a crude form. It is donned in scientific terms. The latest fashion in the evolution of crude materialism is the refined scientific Humanism. And so, if we want to be scientifically humane, we must have economic holding, collective agriculture and state-farming. The idea of privileged possession for the few thus gets a new lease of life, which can only be countered by putting ethics before science.

The first tenet of Bhoojan Yagna is that land belongs to God and not to any tin-gods or tinkering demi-gods, not even to that sacrosanct and sanctified abstraction, the State. Like other elements of nature like air, light and water, land and its produce is for all. When sun shines every morning, it has not to see where it has to send its rays and where it has to withhold them. When it rains, the fields, both of the believers and non-believers get water. So also, everybody gets air. Then why should land be reserved for a chosen few? However, in spite of the high-pressure indoctrination of science, economics and politics, people voluntarily come forward to change their ideas and ways of living and do give up even a part of their possession.

True, a revolution like this does not conform to a set pattern of revolution. Even Vinoba's ideas about revolution are revolutionary and are worth noting here. "There is no fixed pattern of revolution as the Marxists believe", he said once. He continued, "A revolution is something fresh and new in history. If it follows a set pattern it is not revolution." Further, if the revolution of land problem is important, more important is the way in which it is to be solved. The latter is the question of the technique of non-violence. And the technique

is always more important than the problem which is to be solved by that method.

THE SARVODAYA SIXTH

The Bishop of Canterbury, who is called the Red Dean because of his sympathies with the Reds, tried to publicise the deeds of Communist Russia in his book 'Socialist Sixth of the World.' It is for every believer in non-violence now to popularise the idea of Sarvodaya Sixth. From asking bits of lands Vinobaji has now come to demanding one-sixth of the land. Its arithmetic is simple but its spirituality is profound. Taking the average size of the family as five he implores people to consider him as the sixth member and give him his part, one-sixth. That will go to Daridranarayana. It is the realisation on the part of those who give one-sixth or more of their land that it is not fair to have more land than necessary particularly when there are many who have no land at all. That is the spiritual aspect of the problem.

The whole world today is in the throes of a revolution. There are two ways open to it, the way of the Socialist Sixth and the way of the Sarvodaya Sixth. The pull of the Communist way of life and making or marring revolutions is strong indeed. If we mean to hold up as an example to be followed of the non-violent way of life and making revolutions by solving some national and

international problems non-violently, we must put our heart and soul into this movement and make it a brilliant success. The idea may even be extended a bit further. From offering now land only, next people should begin to offer one-sixth of their property and other income besides land.

The success of the Bhoodan Yagna so far must open up the eyes of the critics and the constructive workers themselves. They may see what power the non-violent technique can wield. This technique can solve every problem. But if it is not given a trial its potentialities cannot be realised. There is a tendency, innate or ingrained, among constructive workers to be satisfied with their cells and wells. It is good to be self-sufficient economically, but not morally and intellectually. They must take up larger issues and bigger problems and use the enormous amount of moral strength that they have accumulated and locked up, at least a sixth of it.

The Bhoodan Yagna Tour is a way of Ahimsa in action. Hence, it provides an object lesson of study in non-violent technique for constructive workers, big and small, and others. Students who wish to study the releasing and working of altruistic forces at their best sources, should not miss this chance of a living study. They should be invited to tour with the party in groups.



CONTROL OF THE MILLS

DHIRENDRA MAZUMDAR

In 1946 when the National Government was formed Gandhiji pressed for control over mills as a first step towards national reconstruction. It was clear to him that if the millions of this country were to be given employment mills would have to be progressively closed down and replaced by Charkha and village industries. But the

leadership then refused to consider, much less concede, this demand. It was obsessed with the splendour of the West. Its heart was set on leading India along the road the West had gone. It little thought that what the modern West had achieved was of doubtful value. Naturally therefore, it thought it fit to dismiss Gandhiji's proposal as impracticable.

Six years have gone by. Unemployment is increasing at a terrific pace. Our leaders are puzzled. But their obstinacy prevents them from heeding, even now, the advice Gandhiji gave in 1946. It is gratifying, however, to find that some people are at last reacting to the compulsion of circumstances and have started talking of *charkha* and village industries. But although they talk of these, they little realize that *charkha* and village industries can thrive only at the cost of mills. Both cannot exist simultaneously. This is inevitable, and is the only correct position to take. But somehow they choose to shut their eyes against reality. The result is that they fail to see light. No wonder then, that they are led to the position that it is not the business of the State to provide employment to all.

Of late Rajaji has forcefully reacted to the tragedy that obtains in Madras. He has recognized the force of circumstances. He has come to the conclusion that handloom must be protected against mills to the extent that the manufacture of *dhotis* and *sarees* should be entrusted exclusively to the handloom. No more should the textile mill compete with the handloom in the manufacture of those varieties. This development in Rajaji's outlook is a happy augury. Rajaji clearly feels that no village industry can be saved unless it is protected against the ruinous competition of the corresponding mill. But unfortunately, Rajaji's proposal is confined but to a narrow compass. The fact is that in Madras the number of *dhoti* and *saree* weavers is so large that no Government, much less a democratic Government, can afford to ignore them for long.

Rajaji's is not an ordinary position among the front rank official leaders of the Congress today. The Government of India for a time may ignore Sarvodaya workers including Vinobaji, but it can ill afford to ignore Rajaji. Our appeal to Rajaji is that he should go a step further and consider whether centralized industrialization can solve the problem of unemployment in this country. If he comes to the conclusion that

centralized production and employment to all cannot go together, and that village industries are essential, then he must know that no village industry can survive by mere words of sympathy or by casual financial aid. Among the vast population of India, are weavers the only people who are unemployed? Have our mills not rendered workless and breadless the millions of our spinners, paddy-thrashers and *ghani* men? What does Rajaji propose to do for them? True that the weavers of Madras are organized and vocal, whereas the others lack organized strength to voice strongly enough to disturb the Government. But is it for this reason alone that Rajaji will not look at the problem from the basic national angle and will be content to look at it from the mere official angle? We do hope he will not do so.

We have no doubt that if Rajaji gives earnest thought to the problem of unemployment in the country as a whole he will arrive at the same conclusion which Gandhiji reached years ago, and then he cannot but tell the Government of India that it must reserve the production of food and cloth exclusively for village industries, and slowly squeeze out the mills operating in this sphere. Decentralization of the process of food and cloth production is the only solution. Rajaji will know that even if the Government of India accepts his suggestion and puts an embargo upon mill production of *dhotis* and *sarees* his object will not be achieved. For, in the event of mill-made *dhotis* and *sarees* not made available, the hard-pressed customer will not go in for more expensive handloom *dhotis* and *sarees*; rather, he will purchase plain calico, or some printed variety of requisite width and use it as substitute and the poor weaver will remain where he is today, without work and bread.

Let us face the basic realities of the situation. We hope Rajaji will do so. If millions are to get bread, mills will have to be controlled. There is no escape from this.



FOUNDATION OF INDIAN LIFE

— ARAVIND GHOSH

[The following are important extracts from a speech of Shri Aravind Ghosh made in April 1908 in a District Conference at Kishoreganj, District Mymensing, Bengal. It was in support of a resolution on Palli Samiti — Village Swaraj. The speech shows how the best minds of India have thought on similar lines about the contents of Hind Swaraj and what the most cherished dream of India has been ever since her political awakening. Even though that dream may not be the best and the final one, until we have gone through that stage and seen it translated into reality, every other type of political, social and economic organization will fail to bring contentment to the people. The people must have a chance of governing themselves and not be governed by others. Even if that self-government becomes misgovernment, it will be better than good government which is super-imposed. As it is, people have neither self-government nor good government. Even as the British have withdrawn from India, the Central and Provincial Governments would do well to hand over most of their powers as quickly as possible to the villages themselves. — K. G. MASHRUWALA]

“As one of the speakers has already said, the village Samiti is the seed of Swaraj. What is Swaraj but the organization of the independent life of the country into centres of strength which grow out of its conditions and answer to its needs, so as to make a single and organic whole? When a nation is in a natural condition, growing from within and in its own strength, then it develops its own centres and correlates them according to its own needs. But as soon as for any reason this natural condition is interrupted and a foreign organism establishes itself in and dominates in the country, then that foreign body draws to itself all the sources of nourishment, and the natural centres, deprived of their sustenance, fail and disappear.

* * *

“If we are to survive as a nation we must restore the centres of strength which are natural and necessary to our growth, and the first of these, the basis of all the rest, the old foundation of Indian life and secret of Indian vitality was the self-dependent and self-sufficient village organism. If we are to organize Swaraj we must base it on the village. But we must at the same time take care to avoid the mistake which did much in the past to retard our national growth. The village must not in our new national life be isolated as well as

self-sufficient, but must feel itself bound up with the life of its neighbouring units, living with them in a common group for common purposes. Each group again must feel itself part of the life of the district, living in the district unity, so each district must not be engrossed in its own separate existence but feel itself a subordinate part of the single life of the province, and the province in its turn of the single life of the country. Such is the plan of reconstruction we have taken in hand, but to make it a healthy growth and not an artificial construction we must begin at the bottom and work up to the apex. The village is the cell of the national body and the cell-life must be healthy and developed for the national body to be healthy and developed. Swaraj begins from the village.

“Take another point of view. Swaraj is the organization of national self-help, national self-dependence. As soon as the foreign organism begins to dominate the body politic, it compels the whole body to look to it as the centre of its activities and neglect its own organs of action till these become atrophied. We in India allowed this tendency of alien domination to affect us so powerfully that we have absolutely lost the habit and for sometime had lost the desire of independent activity and became so

dependent and inert that there can be found no example of such helplessness and subservience in history. The whole of our national life was swallowed up by this dependence. Swaraj will only be possible if this habit of subservience is removed and replaced by a habit of self-help. We must take back our life into our own hands and the change must be immediate, complete and drastic. It is no use employing half-measures, for the disease is radical and the cure must be radical also. Our aim must be to revolutionize our habits and leave absolutely no corner of our life and activities in which the habit of dependence is allowed to linger or find refuge for its insidious and destructive working; education, commerce, industry, the administration of justice among ourselves, protection, sanitation, public works, one by one we must take them all back into our hands. Here again the village Samiti is an indispensable instrument, for as this resolution declares, the village Samiti is not to be a mere council for deliberation, but a strong organ of executive work. It is to set up village schools in which our children will grow up as good citizens and patriots to live for their country and not for themselves or for the privilege of dependent life in a dependent nation. It is to take up the work of arbitration by which we shall recover control of the administration of justice, of self-protection, of village sanitation, of small local public works, so that the life of the village may again be self-reliant and self-sufficient free from the habit of dependence rooted in the soil. Self-help and self-dependence, the first conditions of Swaraj, depend for their organization on the village Samiti.

"Another essential condition of Swaraj is that we should awaken the political sense of the masses. There may have been a time in history when it was enough that a few classes, the ruling classes, the learned classes, at most the trading classes should be awake. But the organization of the modern nation depends on the awakening of

the political sense in the mass. This is the age of the people, the million, the democracy. If any nation wishes to survive in the modern struggle, if it wishes to recover or maintain 'Swaraj', it must awaken the people and bring them into the conscious life of the nation, so that every man may feel that in the nation he lives, with the prosperity of the nation he prospers, in the freedom of the nation he is free. This work again depends on the village Samiti. Unless we organize the united life of the village we cannot bridge over the gulf between the educated and the masses. It is here that their lives meet and that they can feel unity. The work of the village Samiti will be to make the masses feel Swaraj in the village, Swaraj in the group of villages, Swaraj in the district, Swaraj in the nation. They cannot immediately rise to the conception of Swaraj in the nation, they must be trained to it through the perception of Swaraj in the village. The political education of the masses is impossible unless you organize the village Samiti.

"Swaraj, finally, is impossible without unity. But the unity we need for Swaraj is not a unity of opinion, a unity of speech, a unity of intellectual conviction. Unity is of the heart and springs from love. The foreign organism which has been living on us, lives by the absence of this love, by division, and it perpetuates the condition of its existence by making us look to it as the centre of our lives and away from our Mother and her children."

* * *

"..... in the old days we did not hear of this distress of the scarcity of water from which the country is suffering now so acutely. It did not exist and could not exist because there was love and the habit of mutual assistance which springs from love. The zamindar felt that he was one with his tenants and could not justify his existence if they were suffering, so his first thought was to meet their wants and remove their disabilities. But now that we look to a foreign source for everything, this love for

our countrymen, this habit of mutual assistance, this sense of mutual duty has disappeared. Each man is for himself and if anything is to be done for our brothers, there is the government to do it and it is no concern of ours. This drying up of the springs of mutual affection is the cause which needs most to be removed, and the village Samiti is again the first condition of a better state of things. It will destroy the aloofness, the separateness of our lives and bring us back the sense of community, the habit of mutual assistance and mutual

beneficence. It will take up the want of water and remove it. It will introduce arbitration courts and, by healing our family feuds and individual discords, restore the lost sense of brotherhood. It will seek out the sick and give them medical relief. It will meet the want of organization for famine relief. It will give justice, it will give protection and when all are thus working for the good of all, the old unity of our lives will be restored, the basis of Swaraj will have been laid in the tie which binds together the hearts of our people."



GOVERNMENT AND KHADI

SRIKRISHNADAS JAJU

That the British Government was always opposed to Khadi, needs no mention. The Congress, on the other hand, had always supported Khadi. So, when Congress Ministries were formed in eight Provinces in 1937, the Charkha Sangh placed before them schemes for promoting the work of Khadi. The Congress Governments gave financial assistance for: (i) manufacturing improved tools and making them available to the artisans, (ii) training workers and artisans in the art of making Khadi, (iii) meeting the deficit arising from the introduction of the living wage, and (iv) meeting the loss suffered in expanding the work of existing centres and in starting new centres. The Government of Madras was foremost in giving such help. The Congress Ministries left office in 1939, and after 7 years in the wilderness, returned to power in 1946. The year 1947 saw the transfer of power to India.

Readers may well remember what a great movement was carried on, and what sacrifices and difficulties had to be put up with, to boycott foreign cloth. The movement was on for merely seventy-five years, and especially in the last thirty years, it was a movement of great momentum. We can say, in retrospect, that at times we did achieve a measure of success, though it

cannot be said that we were fully successful at any time. Even so, the import of foreign cloth had almost stopped during the world-war, and Indian mills had begun to produce the cloth that was necessary for our consumption. Soon after the end of the war we got Swaraj, and with it, the power to stop the import of foreign cloth. But foreign cloth and yarn worth crores of rupees were imported into our country even after the attainment of Swaraj. What greater irony of fate could there have been for the country, and especially for the lovers of Khadi?

It would be good to refer here to the atmosphere that then prevailed in regard to Khadi. Congress Ministries were in power in the provinces as well as in the Centre. There was an acute shortage of cloth in the country. It was a good opportunity for the Governments to push ahead with Khadi. But it became increasingly evident that the Congress Ministries, and even many prominent leaders of the Congress, no longer had the same faith in Khadi that they had evinced earlier. This fact was bound to have repercussions on subordinate Congress Committees and the people at large. Not to speak of controlling the cloth-mills, the formidable competitors of the spinning wheel, in the interest of Khadi, there seemed to be no enthusiasm even to do the small

things necessary for the promotion of Khadi. Referring to this, Gandhiji wrote on the 24th of October, 1947, "Political workers who wear Khadi today wear it out of habit. Today, victory is not that of Khadi but that of the mills. We have persuaded ourselves to believe that crores of people in our country would have to go naked but for the mills. What can be a greater illusion? We have enough cotton, enough number of hand-looms and spinning wheels and also enough spinning and weaving talent. Yet we seem to have been seized with fear that people will not spin or weave to meet their own requirements. He who has given place to fear in his heart, feels afraid even where there is no cause for fear."

Khadi occupied a prominent place in the struggle for independence. All Congressmen and leaders were advocating Khadi. It was, therefore, hoped that when the Congress came to power, Khadi would secure the place that Gandhiji had visualized for it. That hope has now been falsified. It should, however, be admitted that Congress Governments have been giving some help to the work of Khadi. In particular, the Bombay Government is trying to introduce spinning in its primary schools. The Madras Government too is promoting the work of Khadi. Even during the regime of the British Government a scheme had been formulated to extend the textile industry in the country. After attaining Swaraj many Provincial Governments began to make efforts to set up new mills in their respective provinces. When Shri T. Prakasam was the Chief Minister, the Government of Madras, with a view to placing Khadi on a permanently sound basis, declared in August 1946 that it would neither sanction the establishment of new textile mills in the province nor allow the existing mills to increase the number of spindles in their factories. This created quite a sensation in the country. This policy of the Madras Government was severely criticised and opposed by mill-owners and capitalists and by intellectuals and by influential news-

papers. Even the Congress Ministry in the Centre was opposed to it. Soon, however, there was a change of Ministry in Madras. The new Ministry reversed the textile policy of its predecessor but continued the cloth-self-sufficiency scheme of the old Ministry in seven firkas. The Charkha Sangh extended its fullest co-operation to this self-sufficiency project, but warned the Government that the scheme would make no headway unless the sale of mill-cloth was prohibited in the area chosen for the experiment. The Chief Minister of Madras agreed to take steps in this direction but nothing was done for three years, and at the end of this long period, when the Government of Madras expressed its inability to take such a step, the Charkha Sangh had no option but to withdraw its co-operation.

The Planning Commission appointed by the Government of India is now proposing to give a new fillip to Khadi. It is to be seen what place they assign to Khadi in the economic structure of the country. Almost all the Governments seem to want village industries to thrive, but do not appear to be prepared to create the economic conditions in which village industries can survive.

The Governments of Madras, Punjab, Utkal, Bengal, Assam and Bihar are doing some Khadi work on their own. The Government of Mysore in particular, has been carrying on Khadi work for the last twenty-five years. ★

The above is an extract from a booklet "The All India Spinners' Association and its work" by Sri. Srikrishnadas Jaju, recently published by A. I. S. A. Sevagram, Wardha. (Price As. 6.) This is a concise and comprehensive presentation of the origin and the progress of the Khadi Movement up to 1951 covering all its aspects. And it will be specially useful now when the Planning Commission is considering a scheme for Khadi development on an extensive scale through their Khadi and Village Industries Board.

Vinoba — The Apostle of Non-Violence and Love

MANAS, an American weekly devoted only to "ideas and principles for intelligent idealism" and not to personalities has made an exception in the case of Vinobaji because his personality represents today an idea, idea of non-violence and love. The following is a letter from India — published in **MANAS** — dated Sept. 17, 1952.

"This frail man alone is achieving, today with non-violence what the military might of the Government was unable to achieve with force." Thus said Nehru, Prime Minister of India, in a speech delivered earlier this year before the Indian Parliament. He was paying a tribute to Vinoba Bhave, who was trying to bring peace to the "communist-affected," panic-stricken Hyderabad by a nonviolent method, walking unarmed, unguarded, from village to village spinning, praying and preaching non-violence.

***He is trying to bridge by his deeds the gulf between the poor and the rich in India — between the teeming millions of Indian tillers and the princely landlords — by a method which has never been tried before in history, not even by his great master — Gandhi. He is appealing to the conscience of all those who have land, to donate some piece of land for those who are landless. "With folded hands," he says, "I entreat you to fulfil my mission. I do not ask land for myself. Those on whose behalf I come to demand are mute and cannot express their minds. I wish my words to touch your hearts straight as the Ramaban (the arrow of Rama). My object is to transform the whole society. The world has already seen two great wars and a third threatens to be in the making. India does not want to follow the world. She wants to show the path courageously. Let us therefore with heart within and God overhead fulfil our mission."

And lo! He is almost working miracles. From a people well known for its attachment to land, thousands of acres of land are pouring in for distribution amongst the poorest of the poor.

The distribution of land in India today is one of her toughest problems. Eighty per cent of India lives on agriculture. An

overwhelming majority of these people are landless labourers. Some State governments have tried to solve this problem by legislation, but with very little success. There is a constant endeavour from certain elements to create dissatisfaction among the labourers. But this does not help, because they have nothing constructive to suggest to them. Vinoba is trying another way out. He wants the landlords to part with their land voluntarily and he is successful wherever he goes. In Hyderabad he got 15,000 acres and is daily receiving telegrams begging him to honour the landlord by receiving some land-gifts. In the North tour, Vinoba received many thousands of acres. The movement is steadily gaining momentum. Vinoba has thought of collecting fifty million acres, amounting to one sixth of all the culturable land of India. The goal is still very distant, but he is creating an atmosphere which is unique. It may soon come to about a thousand acres a day! And an acre means decent living for one person in India.

Vinoba, like Gandhi, has a firm faith in the goodness of man. He believes that no man is completely evil. The good virtues in him can be awakened by an appeal to his conscience. The daily land-gifts from those who were unwilling to part with an inch of their land is a definite proof of this belief. It cannot be said that Vinoba is successful because of his popularity. Nobody but a few friends knew him some years back. He was working quietly in a village for more than a score of years, trying to live more simply than the poorest villager. From this life amongst the poorest he found his faith, the faith that India had not lost her soul. She obtained her independence by non-violence, she could as well gain her peace and prosperity by non-violence. It is this firm belief in non-violence that is working miracles for him. ★

CONSTRUCTIVE INSTITUTIONS IN SOUTH -3

SEVA SADAN AT PERUR

— SURESH RAMABHAI —

In the early years of the freedom movement under Gandhiji khadi work was the centre of activity. In the recent years Basic Education has inspired the young and the old to build up Ashrams and Gurukuls for the service of rural masses to create a new way of life and non-violent social order. Many such institutions have sprung up in the South as in other parts of India. Seva Sadan at Perur in Kerala is a typical one organised and run by Shri K. Kumaran with a band of young workers.

In the south of India, surrounded by Western Ghats on the east and Arabian Sea on the west is the long and narrow land-strip, Kerala, consisting of the Malabar District of the State of Madras and the Union of the States of Cochin and Travancore, which bountiful Nature has marked for her own. In its majestic grandeur and sublime beauty, it has evolved its own unique customs and laws, the most prominent being the daughter's right to land and property. It is the birth-place of the mighty Shankar, one of the rarest intellectual giants known to the world. Kerala has been from time immemorial a spring source of sons and daughters acknowledged and respected all over the country for the magnificant qualities of their head and heart.

In the field of fighting for India's freedom Kerala's part has been as much enviable and praiseworthy as that of any other part; so also in peaceful-and-revolutionary constructive work it has not lagged behind. In the second week of September last I had the good fortune to go and see a youthful institution viz., the Gandhi Seva Sadan at Perur in the south of the Malabar District, about two miles away from the Lakkidi station on the Shoranur-Coimbatore route of the Southern Railway.

The Sadan was started in 1945 as an humble orphanage with eight spinning wheels by two young friends, Swami Sevanand and Shri Kumaran. Two years later, they obtained a gift of $6\frac{1}{2}$ acres of land where they started a Gurukulam (a children's school on Gandhiji's Nai Talim lines) with classes I and II. So it has grown step by step and today it holds its respectful place among the most promising and solid institutions of Kerala. The Sadan is a registered Trust, with Shri Kelappan, the wellknown leader of Kerala, as President and Shri Kumaran as Secretary and Treasurer.

The institution has two sections, the Sadan and the Gurukulam, situated about half a mile apart. The former concentrates on village industries while the latter on education and agriculture. The crafts carried out in the Sadan are weaving, oil-pressing, khadi manufacture, tailoring, bee-keeping, mat-making, Magan-chula and pottery work. Shri Venugopal (younger brother of Shri Kumaran) trained in the Gaudi Nai Talim course of A. I. V. I. A., at Wardha had himself prepared a Wardha-ghani from thick pieces of timber.

The Gurukulam is an institution by itself with a Teachers' Training School, a Basic School, a Pre-Basic School and Balwadi.

The Training School, started in July 1951 receives help from the Madras State. It has two classes, senior and junior, with about 40 students in each. Of these not less than 30 are girls. The trainees get a stipend of Rs. 18 per month with which they meet their expenses. They have an elected prime minister with a cabinet to guide the trainees. The students in the Training School are all matriculates with a passion for service of the villages. They are in the Gurukulam all the 24 hours, but their 'class' lasts for 8 hours — divided equally between theory and practice. They devote $2\frac{1}{2}$ hours to spinning and the remaining $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours for agriculture. The subjects they learn are psychology, the theory of Basic education, school administration, general methods of teaching, mother tongue and English language. I spent some two hours with them at one night after the prayers. Like the basic teachers anywhere else, they failed to understand why the new Government of free India has not universalised the new system of education. As at other places, blooming faces smelt danger in the incoming American 'Aid' and preferred a plan of Gandhian conception.

The Basic School imparting instruction from classes I to VII has 80 students on its roll, in which the men outnumbered women by only ten. Again, 43 of these are day scholars while 37 reside in the Gurukulam. In these 37, eighteen are girls. In class VI I met a young chap who joined the institution as an orphan when it began seven years ago.

The Pre-Basic School, the liveliest part of the institution has been recently opened. Yet there are 27 children, 16 girls and 11 boys. When I saw them in the evening, the innocent kids of Kerala were delightfully enjoying wheat chappatis.

Last but not the least comes the *Balwadi* —the latest addition to the institutions,

fruit of the almost mad longing of Shri Vishalakshi Devi, sister of Kumaran, who had training both in the Hindustani Talimi Sangh and the A. I. V. I. A. at Maqanvadi.

Agriculture, is a vital part of the Gurukulam. Except the little ones of *Balwadi* all members of the Gurukulam have to contribute their labour in the field. Both cereals and vegetables are grown there. The entire arrangement for irrigation or cultivation etc. is purely with manual and animal labour combined.

Swami Sevanand and Shri Kumaran, one supplementing the other, will not rest content until the Gandhi Seva Sadan becomes a light-house for Nai Talim in that part of Kerala.



CONSTRUCTIVE INSTITUTIONS IN SOUTH - 4

GANDHIGRAM

Gandhigram in Madurai Dt. is the biggest Samagra Seva Institution in Tamilnad which has been developed within the last five years under Shri G. Ramachandran and Dr. Soundaram Ramachandran. The next five years will show enormous progress since Shri G. Ramachandran who was away at Wardha as the Secretary of A. I. V. I. A. during the last two years has, come back to actively guide the Gandhigram institutions as Director.

Dr. (Mrs.) Soundaram Ramachandran, M. L. A., presented a brief consolidated report of the work done by Gandhi Gram during the last five years with a statement of accounts showing total receipts and expenditure during the period. The report showed that 135 basic teachers and 33 adult women had been trained directly by Gandhi Gram, while in the Kasturba Trust training institution located in Gandhi Gram 125 Grama Sevikas and 46 midwives had received their training during the period and that at present there were 174 candidates undergoing various courses of training in Gandhi Gram. Further, at the Rural Maternity Home and Hospital in Chinnalapatti close by, the total number of outdoor patients during the period was 1,47,641 while the number of the Hospital admissions was more than five thousand. The Hospital has 22 beds and a Testing Laboratory Unit under a German lady doctor. Total receipts under all heads during the last five years amounted to Rs 5,71,768 and total expenses to Rs. 6,16,670.

Dr. (Mrs.) Soundaram Ramachandran then announced that having accepted the place

of Honorary Executive Project Officer in the Community Project in the Madura District she has resigned her place as the Director of Gandhi Gram and that of the Gandhi Gram Working Committee. While not accepting her resignation, The Gandhi Gram Council, the governing body, had given her leave for three years and invited Shri G. Ramachandran to become the Director of Gandhi Gram. She moved a resolution to approve the working committee's decision to make Sri. G Ramachandran the Director which was accepted.

Three important decisions taken by the Gandhi Gram Council were (1) that the Basic Training School and Model Basic School in Gandhi Gram and the fourteen Basic Schools in the surrounding villages should be developed as a model compact area of Basic Education, (2) that 30 Nai Talim Adult Education centres should be organised in the Athur Firka and (3) that Gandhi Gram should organise the maximum public support for Shri Rajagopalachariar's proposal to reserve certain specific varieties of cloth for handloom production as part of a campaign to encourage village industries. ★

ALL-INDIA BHOO DAN NEWS

ASSAM

Shri Vallabhswamy, the joint secretary of the Sarva Seva Sangh along with Shri Bhuvanchandra Das toured in Assam for ten days and addressed meetings at Gauhati, Nafiqau, Shivasagar, Mangaldey, Golaghat, Dibrugat, Bako and Jorhat. District conferences as well as the provincial Bhoo-dan conference were also held. 183 bighas of land and 5 bullocks were received as gifts.

ANDHRA

Shri Yerneni Subramaniam, and Shri Ramuluji toured in the district of Nellore and did propaganda for Bhoo-dan.

GUJERAT

Shri Srikrishnadas Jajuji toured for a fortnight (26th September to 8th October) in the districts of Surat, Baroda, Kheda, and Ahmedabad. He addressed about 30 public meetings and workers' conferences and explained the principles and ideals behind this non-violent revolutionary movement of Bhoo-dan. Shri Jugatram Dave, Shri Jyotsna Behn Shukla Shri Kalyanjibhai Mehta, Shri Uttamchand Shaha and Shri Babulbhai Mehta toured with him. In each of these districts Taluk committees were constituted to carry on the work. Two hundred bighas of land, besides the offer of voluntary labour by students, were announced.

Shri Babulbhai Mehta toured in the districts of Sabarkanta, Kheda and Baroda and collected 294 acres of land. Hari Vallabh Parek of Ananda Niketan, Rengpur, has so far collected 2356.32 acres. Shri Chottubhai Shaha is doing Bhoo-dan work in Bhavnalkanta. He has collected about 500 acres from 10 villages. Each family in Balguamada village decided to offer 7 acres per family and this village consisting of 15 families, has already offered 90 acres so far. This is really a brilliant example and this gives the hope that Gujerat will lead the other provinces in this Bhoo-dan work.

MADHYA BHARAT

Shri Viswanathji Khode and Veerendra Singhji toured in the northern districts and addressed many meetings. Six workers decided to undertake walking tour for Bhoo-dan.

UTKAL

Shri Gopal Bhandhu Chowdry and his wife Shri Rama Devi have again undertaken another Bhoo-dan tour. 215.54 acres of land have been collected by them in this month.

MADHYA PRADESH

Acharya Dada Dharmadhikari and Dababhai Naik toured in Chattisghad Vibhag and addressed 24 village meetings. 1814.89 acres have been collected from Bhilaspur, Raipur, Sarjuma and Dhrug districts. The donation of 1001 acres by Sreemathi Rani Amit Kunwar Devi is of special importance. In Wardha Tahsil 852 acres were collected under the leadership of Babaji Mokhe who with a band of workers organised the Bhoo-dan Paksha in about 100 villages.

MAHARASHTRA

Shri Annasahib toured in Kolhapur Dt. for 20 days, visited 50 villages, addressed 75 meetings and collected 110.27 acres. In East Khandesh district during Gandhi Jayanthi fortnight about 90 workers in 22 groups toured in 393 villages and received about 500 acres of land.

BENGAL

There were workers' meetings in the different places of Singhbhum District. Shri Saineshkumar Bandopadhyaya decided to devote all his time for Bhoo-dan work. Srimathi Ghosh has started on Bhoo-dan tour and has collected about 50 acres so far.

MYSORA

A temporary committee of three members consisting of Shri B. Narayanappa, Shri Anantha Rengachar and Shri Saraswathi Natarajan was constituted to carry on work in Mysore. They have begun to do active Bhoo-dan work in Mysore.

RAJASTHAN

Shri Jajuji toured in the districts of Bikaner, Sheker, Kotah and Banswada. In Sheker District 673 Bighas of good lands and 314 bighas of waste lands were collected. From Kota division 16 acres of wet land, a well and a pair of bullocks were also received.

The committee members of Jaipur, Sirohi, Pali and Beelwada districts toured in their districts and have collected so far 836 bighas of land and 4 pairs of bullocks.



Deoji's Bhoodan Yatra in Kerala

After 1½ month's day-to-day walking tour in Tamil Nad receiving over 6,000 acres of land, Shri Shankarao Deo, Secretary, Sarva Seva Sangh, on 15-11-'52 resumed his Bhoodan mission, trekking on into the province of Kerala. He was received at Walayar, the Gate-way to Kerala, by Shri Ekkanda Warrier, the convenor of the Kerala Bhoodan Committee in the company of enthusiastic workers. Kerala is a narrow long strip of land on the western coast, extending from Cape Comorin the extreme southern tip of India, to Kasargode, a few miles south of Mangalore, and entirely separated from the adjoining area of Tamilnad by the continuous high mountains of Western Ghats, except by the narrow forest-pass — the Palghat Gap.

He reached Palghat on the 16th. In the evening he addressed a public meeting explaining the principles behind the Bhoodan movement in lucid terms. The ultimate goal of this movement is the establishment of economic equality in the land consistent with the cultural traditions of India which always stood for truth, peace and welfare of all. At the close of the meeting Shri Ekkanda Warrier announced the collection of 2,168.32 acres of land received for the Yagna by the Kerala Samiti so far. The offers of 1,000 acres by Mannarghat Moopil Nair of Ernad Taluk in South Malabar District and 905 acres by Shri Samuel Aron of Chirakal Taluk in North Malabar are worthy of special mention. The local collection at Palghat is 101 acres and that was from a muslim brother Khan Bahadur Unnikammu Sahib.

On the next day he started for Perur about 16 miles to the south west of Palghat. On the way he addressed a gathering in the village Edathara where the people donated 48 acres, 15 cents. He stayed for the day in Perur Seva Sadan and in the evening addressed a public meeting where an offer of 21 acres of land by the local people was announced.

On the 18th Shri Deoji and party started for Ottapalam. Here he addressed students' meetings in the after-noon. He visited the Mahila Samaj and addressed a ladies' gathering wherein a donation of Rs. 101 was announced. In the evening he addressed a huge public meeting where four

people came forward offering 154.2 acres of land. The donation of 152 acres by two members of the ancient Nambudri family 'the Olapamanna Illam' is worth mentioning.

The next morning Shri Deo and party started for Cheruthuruthi where they were received by Shri Vallathol Narayana Menon, the Poet Laureate of Kerala and other friends. On the way there were receptions at Mannaseri where Shri P.M.C. Devakaran Nambudri-pad offered 101 acres and another 2 persons 8 acres. Besides a fairly good number of agricultural implements and a pair of bullocks were received for the yagna from several land-holders.

At Cheruthuruthi he addressed a students' meeting and a workers' conference and received a donation of 12 acres and 5 cents from three persons.

On the 20th morning he started for Vadakkancheri. There he had discussions with many important persons of the locality. He addressed a students' meeting in the after-noon. In the evening there was a public meeting where he talked for nearly one hour and emphasized that unless the people transfer all their rights in property to the village union for the benefit and welfare of all the villagers, there can be neither peace nor happiness in our land. A donation of over 34.56 acres was announced in the meeting. This area is a very fertile part of Cochin State where agriculture is well-developed and the value of land is exorbitantly high. Among the donors of this area Shri Manakkulam Mukunda Raja alone offered 22.86 acres.

The next day morning Shri Deo and party started for Trichur. In the after-noon he addressed a fairly big students' gathering. In quite a simple and instructive way he made the students understand the fundamental principles of the Bhoodan movement.

In the evening there was a public meeting where the elite of the town was present. For more than an hour he spoke. He traced the origin of the movement in Telengana and referred to the *Bhishma Pratighna* now taken by Vinobaji not to return back to his Ashram unless the ultimate goal is reached i.e the establishment of economic and social equality in our country.

He said, 'Today he who actually produces the wealth of the land, starves and

suffers whereas the man, the master who controls the means of production enjoys all comfort. This order of things should change and to bring about this change, the non-violent method that Gandhiji showed us, is the only way. In Rama Rajya, every member of the society should consider every other member as his own brother, sharing the entire wealth of the land in common according to the equitable needs of each. The Jemmies as well as the tenants and sub-tenants, all should voluntarily out of love surrender whatever right they possess to the Bhoojan Yagna, which will then be held in trust for the society as a whole." Towards the close of the meeting 315.33 acres were announced as donation towards the Yagna.

The next day Sri Deo and party started for Nellai. On the way there were receptions at Ollur, Tholur and Amballur. The labour congress at Amballur presented a purse of Rs. 101/- for the yagna. Sri Deoji was given a rousing reception at Nellai by the village folk. There was a public meeting in the evening. He explained the significance and meaning of the Rama Rajya of Gandhiji's conception, in other words Kingdom of Heaven on earth preached by Christ and the fundamental principle behind the Bhoojan movement. Towards the close of the meeting Sri Vasudevan Nambudripad of Kezhakinedath Illam offered 21.79 acres and another six persons about ten acres in all.

On 23-11-'52 Sri Deo and party reached Chalakudi. There was a public meeting in the evening. There was no donation announced on the day. The next morning the party started for Kaladi where Adi Sankaracharya was born a thousand years back. Sri Agamananda Swamiji and the inmates of the 'Adwaitha Ashram' received Sri Deoji and the party. Sri Deoji addressed a meeting in the Ashram's precincts. He said that 'Dwaitha' is the cause of all the miseries and sufferings of the world and 'Adwaitha'

preached by Sri Sankara is the only panacea to save the world from all calamities and quoted the word of Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa that the intellect of Sri Sankara and the heart of Buddha can solve any problem of the world. The same day in the evening Deoji and party started for Perumbavur where there was an enthusiastic reception. In the evening there was a record gathering in the public meeting. Towards the end of the function donations of 301 acres by Dr. P. J. Thomas and 230 acres by Pazur Manakal Revi Bhramadathan Nambudripad were announced besides, another 23.5 acres by 21 persons. The total collection for the day was 554.51 acres.

On 25-11-'52 the party started for Muvatenpuzha. In three places on the way Sri Deoji addressed villagers' gatherings. Crossing the river Periyar the party entered the Travancore State. In the evening there was a well-attended public meeting. As many as 28 persons came forward to offer lands

The total collections up-to-date has come to 3488.32 acres. The movement is fast progressing and there is every hope that Kerala will be able to reach the target fixed for the two years by the Sarva Seva Sangh.

The following is the Bhoojan received in Kerala from 16th Nov. to 25th Nov. '52.

Name of the place	District	Acres, cents
Chirakal Taluk	North Malabar	965.00
Eranad and } Valluvanad },,	South Malabar	1333.17
Palghat ,,,	do.	100.32
Vayanad ,,,	do.	102.00
Cheruthuruthi } Vadakkancheri } Trichur	Cochin - Travancore	46.91
Nellai	do.	315.33
Perumbavur	do	31.51
Muvatenpuzha	do.	554.51
		31.49



Deoji's Bhoojan Yatra in Tamilnad (2)

Shri Shankarao Deo began his yatra in Coimbatore District on the 1st of November, '52 at Kozhumam village. There he received a welcome address in Hindi presented by Srimathi Kamala. The members of the family of Sri Krishna Ayyar in the village offered

100 acres as Bhoojan. On the way to Udumalpet Shri Velrama Gounder offered one acre, that is, 1/4 of his land on casually hearing about the Bhoojan Movement. When he entered Palladam on the 10th he received ten acres from the mother of the Vice-President,

Coimbatore District Board. Shri Govindappa Gounder mirasdar of Erode offered 107 acres. He declared open the Kasturba Centre at Puliampatti. Shri Balakrishna Naidu offered 14 acres and Rs 1000/- in cash for helping the agriculturists. On the tenth at Tirupur he stayed with Messrs. Pratab Bros, at Devji Colony where he opened the Sarvodaya Prachuralayam of the Sarva Seva Sangh at its new premises and addressed a public meeting.

On the 14th he reached Coimbatore. In Periyanaickanpalayam Shri K. Arunachalam with his colleagues had already done intensive propaganda among the villages around for Bhoodan. There was an enthusiastic reception at Peelamedu. Shri P. S. G. & Sons who are reputed philanthropists of the district spontaneously offered 1116.60 acres being one sixth of their property. Sri M. Kotravel, a member of the Socialist-Praja Party offered 30 acres as being 1/4 of his property and invited the Congressmen to offer a large share of their land as Bhoodan. Pattakkar of Palaiyakottai offered 652.92 acres of land. The collection in Coimbatore District exceeded 3000 acres by the large donations announced at Coimbatore on the 14th. While Ramnad District had given about 1500 acres, and Madura District a little less than that, Coimbatore ranks now as the foremost among the three districts, having given 3069.67 acres.

Shri Deoji addressed a public meeting at Coimbatore on the 14th evening. He

had to walk nearly 25 miles on that day to reach the border village of Coimbatore for commencing his Kerala yatra the next day. He could not halt as he was not inclined to take his food in the absence of any offer of land. But luckily one doctor requested him to halt there and offered some agricultural tools saying that he had no land to give. While he was waiting there one Shri Papu Gounder alias Shri Muthuswami Gounder who had come there accidentally on some other business offered 12 acres out of his 60 acres. This was a pleasant augury in the culmination of the Tamilnad Yatra and at the commencement of his Kerala yatra.

The total collection of Bhoodan in the three districts in Tamilnad during Shri Deo's walking yatra of 525 miles in 45 days is 6,312 acres and 32 cents while their target is 60,000 acres.

Shri S. Jagannathan, Convenor of Tamilnad Bhoodan Committee will start a walking yatra on 15th December from Cape Comorin. Shri Krishnadas Gandhi has kindly agreed to help Shri Jagannathan by joining the yatra for a fortnight.

Shri Munagala Pattabhiramiah will conduct a walking yatra with some others from the first week of December in Thirumangalam Taluk in Madurai district.

It is hoped that the three districts part of which was covered by Shri Deo will make intensive efforts in realising at least half the target of 60,000 acres before the next Sarvodaya Sammelan in March '53.



NOTES AND NEWS

Charkha Sangh Trustees' Meeting

For the first time in the history of the Charkha Sangh the board of Trustees had their meeting in the South at Tirupur on 20th, 21st and 22nd November 1952. The Sanchalaks and Secretaries of the various Vibhags and Branches of the A. I. S. A. in Tamilnad, Kerala, Karnatak and the other provinces were specially invited for the meeting. Shri Srikrishnadas Jajuji, Shri V. V. Jerajaniji, Shri R. S. Dhotreji, Shri Dwaja Prasad Babu of Bihar, Shri A. W. Sahasrabudhe, Shri Krishnadas Gandhi and Shri R. Guruswamy attended the Trustees' meeting. The important subjects discussed at the meeting were with regard to the future work of the Charkha Sangh in rela-

tion to the impending Khadi Scheme of the Government of India through their Khadi and Village Industries' Board and also the Sangh's new Khadi Movement which has been recently started in Tamilnad and Kerala with a view to arouse the consciousness of the villagers to self-sufficiency and for resisting the exploitation of the villagers through centralised industries by boycotting mill processed articles of food and cloth. The Trustees blessed the movement with the hope that it may bring about the desired result.

Besides there were general meetings of the Sanchalaks and Secretaries of the A. I. S. A. to discuss several details of administration.

The 5th Sarvodaya Sammelan

The 5th annual Sarvodaya Sammelan will be held in Bihar in the village Tekkapatti on the 7th, 8th and 9th March, 1953. The nearest railway station to Tekkapatti is Kursela which is on the main line of the North Eastern Railway from Cawnpore to Katihar. From Cawnpore Kursela is three stations to the west. Sevaks from eastern and south-eastern provinces can reach Kursela via Mokameh Ghat and Barauni junctions. Those from north-eastern provinces, Bengal and Assam can come via Katihar. Those from western provinces can reach via Lucknow from where there is a straight line to Kursela. There are direct trains from Allahabad and Banaras also.

A Way out for Vanaspathi

Shri D. K. Gupta of A. I. V. I. A., Wardha who has studied well the problem of Vanaspathi and ghee, has suggested a solution for protecting ghee and writes as follows:—

Sometime ago, in reply to a question in the Parliament our Prime Minister declared that Vanaspathi is consumed by three-fourths of the world, that it is quite harmless and that there is no need to ban its manufacture in India. Let us examine these facts carefully.

1. That three-fourths of the world consumes Vanaspathi is true only in the sense that many countries use hydrogenated oils which are always a sort of an emulsion. The degree of hydrogenation in foreign countries is far less compared to that carried out in India. The reason for this high degree-hydrogenation in India is that she is the only country which esteems *ghee*, and so this hydrogenated product is made to develop granular crystals and look like *ghee*. Thus Vanaspathi as is now available in India is an unnatural product.

2. The harmlessness of this product has become a drawn-out controversy. This point is not easy of solution. But without any fear of contradiction, it can be asserted that fresh *ghani* oil is dietetically superior to Vanaspathi. This means that even if Vanaspathi is harmless its production converts a meagre supply of edible oils into inferior products.

3. The whole controversy about Vanaspathi arises because Vanaspathi spoils the food of the nation and also helps the adulteration of *ghee*. *Ghee* is the only animal fat available in the country and for proper nutrition it has a very essential place in our diet. Vanaspathi which jeopardizes its production and consumption should be curbed.

Today who is in need of Vanaspathi? There is a section of the population amongst the middle-class city-folk who once used *ghee* and now for various reasons are not in a position to substitute it with oil. They are the only legitimate consumers of Vanaspathi as it satisfies their palate. These people should be supplied with oils which are only hydrogenated to a degree which will not make the oils take the appearance of *ghee* at ordinary temperatures. Then only will Vanaspathi not harm the *ghee* industry in our country.

Deepavali Khadi Sales

The Sanchalak, A. I. S. A. Tirupur writes:—

The Khadi Sales in Tamilnad in the Deepavali season in 1952 has recorded a fall of Rs. 1,59,018 over the sales in the same period in 1951. The Sales figures are as follows:

Khadi sales in	1952.	Rs.	4,68,592
"	1951.	"	6,27,610

Khadi and Village Industries' Board

The announcement of the personnel of the above Board under the Government of India is said to be delayed on account of clarification of certain points raised by the Charkha Sangh. It is hoped that the Government will decide and announce the personnel without delay.

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		Sati Kasturba (R. K. Prabhu) 1 4		
		Glimpses of Gandhi (R. R. Diwakar) 1 8		

SARVODAYA PRACHURALAYAM, TIRUPUR (S. Ry.)